

7793 Q. Was it then at the second appointment within one or two weeks after the first that you agreed to work for the FBI? A. That I agreed to join the Communist Party and furnish information to the FBI, yes.

Q. Then what financial arrangements were made? A. I volunteered to do this service without remuneration of any kind. We didn't make any formal financial arrangements.

Q. Did you make arrangements for payment of expenses?

A. I at no time ever submitted a statement for expenses that I wanted them to pay me or that they should pay me.

Q. At no time you submitted such statement of expenditures? A. No.

Q. But you did receive money for expenditures that 7794 you did incur? A. That is right.

Q. What moneys did you receive? A. They were irregular amounts at irregular times.

Q. Such as how much? Irregular amounts at irregular times, you say? A. That is correct.

Q. Can you give us an idea what you received? A. I really can't.

Q. You worked for them for how many years? A. I was engaged in this activity from May of 1943 until October of 1949.

Q. From May of 1943 to 1949? A. That is right.

Q. During these six years from time to time you did receive money which you say was in the form of reimbursement? A. That is about what it amounted to, yes.

Q. When you say that is about what it amounted to, can you tell us what you received, for instance, in 1944? A. I can not.

Q. Or in 1945? A. I can not.

Q. Or in 1946? A. I can not.

Q. 1947? A. I can not.

7795 Q. 1948? A. I can not.

Q. 1949. No, sir. Neither can I tell you what I spent during those years.

Q. You can't tell us what you spent in 1949? A. No, sir.

Q. When you say you didn't submit bills, how did you obtain the reimbursement? You conferred with someone in the FBI and told them what your expenses were? Is that the way you worked it? A. I had periodic meetings with the agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who from these reports had an idea of what I was doing.

Q. You gave them an idea of what expenses you needed? A. I didn't suggest that I needed any expenses.

Q. Did you receive money during this period? A. I did, at their initiative.

Q. I beg your pardon? A. It was at their initiative, not mine.

Q. But you did receive it? A. That is right.

Q. Did you give receipts for these moneys? A. I did.

7796 Q. Itemized receipts? A. No, sir.

Q. Can you tell us in all what you received from the FBI in this period, the full amount? A. I have no idea.

7799 Q. They advised you to do certain work within the Communist Party? A. No, sir.

Q. Did they advise you to go out and get subscriptions for the Daily Worker? A. No, sir. The Communist Party advised me to do that.

Q. Did the FBI ask you to give them the names of the people who subscribed, whose subscriptions you obtained?

A. They did not ask me to do that, but that was among the things I did.

Q. You did? A. Yes.

Q. For instance, you obtained subscriptions in certain sections of the city of Washington? A. That is correct.

Q. You went from door to door? A. That is correct.

7800 Q. Asking people to subscribe to the Daily Worker?

A. That is correct.

Q. At that time what did you tell them? You went into Negro communities, did you not? A. Negro and white communities.

Q. In the Negro communities you told them that the Daily Worker was a newspaper that was fighting for full citizenship for the Negro people? A. That is right.

Q. On that basis you obtained subscribers? A. A few, yes, sir.

Q. I beg your pardon? A. A few subscriptions, yes, sir.

Q. And those are the names of people that you turned in to the FBI? A. They were among the names.

7845 **Herbert A. Philbrick** called as a witness for Petitioner, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

7846 Q. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States? A. Yes, I have been a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Between what years were you a member of the Communist Party? A. I was a member of the Communist Party from 1944 to 1949.

Q. Were you a member of the organization known as the Communist Political Association? A. Yes, I was also a member of the Communist Political Association.

Q. From 1944 through 1949 you had continuous membership in one or the other organization? A. Yes.

Q. Had you come into contact with any Communists before 1944?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I was a member of the Young Communist League before that time, having joined the Young Communist League in March of 1942.

By MR. TAYLOR:

Q. How long had you been a member of the Young Communist League? A. From March, during March, 1942, I guess you could say I remained a Young Communist right

up until the time I joined the Party, although the Young Communist League itself was dissolved in 1943.

7859 Q. What source of activities did you engage in between March of 1942 and March of 1944 while you were a member of the Young Communist League? A. Those two years were two very busy years. I found myself engaged in a great many activities. For example, an organization known as the Cambridge Committee for Equal Opportunities was organized by the Young Communists in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and I became one of the sponsors of that group. I sold Daily Workers door to door. I

7860 made collections for Russian relief in Cambridge.

In addition, I attended Young Communist League conventions. My biggest assignment by the Party during that time was to attend a convention in New York City. I believe that was in the fall of 1943, when the Young Communist League was dissolved and an organization known as American Youth for Democracy was formed. I subsequently became the state treasurer of American Youth for Democracy, one of the five top youth leaders of that organization.

Q. Just what was the organization known as American Youth for Democracy?

THE WITNESS: American Youth for Democracy was what is known by Communists as a coalition group, composed not only of members of the Communist Party but also a great many non-members of the Communist Party. There-  
7861 fore, it was technically at least a non-Communist organization. It was a win-the-war organization designed to bring in as many young people in this country as possible, whose efforts would be designed to winning the war in Europe. Therefore, we participated in a great many activities such as selling war bonds and getting blood donor campaigns started, conducting inter-racial dances in Boston at the Soldiers' Canteen, and so forth.



Q. While you were a member of the Young Communist League did you attend any periodic meetings of any sort?

A. Yes, I did. I attended young Communist League meetings about every other week.

Q. What would take place at those meetings? A. The meetings were divided into three parts. The first section usually would be devoted to the business of the organization, such as collecting dues and selling literature, and so forth. The second part of the meeting would be devoted to discussion of current activities on the part of the Young Communists in the cell. A third part of the meeting would devote itself to an educational session during which we would study some part of Marxism-Leninism or maybe a study of some current Communist pamphlet or booklet.

7862 Q. Do you recall any specific meetings of the Young Communist League? A. Yes, I can recall the first meeting that was held in my apartment in Cambridge.

Q. Will you tell us what transpired at that first meeting?

THE WITNESS: Until this time I had been what you call a pacifist against wars in general, and therefore the first meeting of the Young Communist League at my apartment was devoted to a discussion of just and unjust wars. Later on in my party experiences I discovered that the text for which that material was gathered came from the History of the C.P.S.U. I was taught at that time that according to—

7864 Q. When did you join the Communist Party of the United States? A. I joined the Communist Party of the United States in March of 1944.

Q. What were the circumstances surrounding your joining the Communist Party? A. I was recruited into the Communist Party by Alice Gordon, who was formerly the head of the Young Communist League, and at

the time she recruited me was head of the youth work of the Communist Party, working as a paid functionary from the state office of the Communist Party.

Q. When did you leave the Communist Party? A. I left the Communist Party on April 6, 1949.

Q. What were the circumstances surrounding your leaving the Party? A. I appeared as a witness for the Government in the trial of the 11 in the Federal District Court of New York, the Southern District Court.

Q. What activities did you engage in upon first joining the Communist party in March of 1944? A. Chiefly I continued on with my work for the Party as the state treasurer of the Massachusetts American Youth for Democracy. Also at this time I began attending regular every other week meetings of the Communist Party cell.

7866 Q. You have stated that when you first joined the Communist Party you continued on as state secretary of the American Youth for Democracy. While you were active in the American Youth for Democracy and at the same time were a member of the Communist Party, was your Communist Party membership disclosed?

7867 THE WITNESS: No, it was not. I received specific instructions by Fanny Hartman, the head of the Communist Party at that time, that my membership in the Communist Party was not to be known and not to be revealed. Furthermore, that if any one asked me if I was a member of the Communist Party or declared me to be a member of the Communist Party, I was to swear on a stack of Bibles that I had not been, that I was not and had never been a member of the Communist Party. Fanny Hartman was district organizer of the Communist Party at that time and she is the former wife of Phil Frankfeld.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: What was this district?

**THE WITNESS:** This was District 1, which included Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It did not include Connecticut.

**By MR. TAYLOR:**

Q. Over what period of time were you active in youth activities of the Communist Party? A. I remained active in the youth activities of the Communist Party right up until the summer of 1945, continuing somewhat into the fall of 1945.

Q. What assignment did you receive in the fall of 1945? A. In the fall of 1945, following the state convention and the national convention of the Communist Party that year, I became a member of the State Educational Commission of the Communist Party and became chairman of the leaflet production for the Communist Party.

Q. Were you a member of any branch of the Communist Party in Massachusetts at that time? A. Yes. I was a member of the Malden, Massachusetts, branch, which is a suburb of Boston.

7869 Q. Was there a convention in District No. 1 of the Communist Political Association in 1945? A. Yes,  
7870 there was. There was a state convention of the District No. 1 CPA, that was held in July of 1945.

Q. Did you attend? A. Yes, I attended that convention, first, as an alternate delegate from the Malden, Massachusetts, branch, and I also attended upon personal invitation by David Bennett, the state secretary of the CPA at that time.

7871 Q. Where was this convention held? A. This con-  
7872 vention was held in the New England Mutual Insurance Building in Boston, Massachusetts.

Q. Was the convention open to any one who was not a member of the Communist Political Association?

THE WITNESS: Not to my knowledge. Every precaution was taken to see that no one would be at the convention who was not authorized to be there.

7873 MR. LAFOLLETTE: The objection is overruled. I would like to have you set out what you mean by precaution. Will you explain what you meant by that, what was done that you considered to be a precaution?

THE WITNESS: Yes. There were a great many things done. I don't know that I can recall all of them. I know that, for example, the identification of the delegates elected from our branch in Malden, for example, had to be sent in to the state office of the Communist Political Association to be okayed by I think they call it a credentials committee. The card had to be okayed and then the credentials sent back to the branch by the state office. Those credentials would admit you to the hall.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Did the card bear on o.k. stamp or something when it came back?

THE WITNESS: It bore a stamp and a number, something like that, and a signature. I believe Mark Alper was the head of the credentials committee. Then when we got to the doorway of the convention you had to show your card at the door and the credentials committee sat at a table at the door with a long list of the names of those who were supposed to be there. You handed your card over to them and they would cross out the name so that no one else could come in on that same card. I know that people were turned away from the doorway because they did not have the proper credentials.

7908 Q. Of what did your duties as educational director  
7909 of the Eighth Congressional District consist? A. They consisted of organizing Marxist-Leninist classes throughout the entire area, in every cell. Generally speaking we followed the outline presented to us in the school



on Hancock Street. In addition to that we provided speakers from the state office, who would go out especially to speak at the cells, and we would provide to them literature from the Progressive Bookshop on current events of interest to the Communist Party.

Q. What publications would you use in providing information on current events? A. We would use both the theoretical text, in addition to current materials such as The Worker, the Daily Worker, Political Affairs, Masses and Mainstream, Science and Society, and other pamphlets that the Party published from time to time.

Q. Did you make use of "For a Lasting Peace"? A. Let's see. Lasting Peace did not come out until about 1947, and I don't believe I was still the educational director of the Eighth Congressional District when that paper first came out. But we did use it in our educational work in the Party after that time.

I was not specifically attached to the Eighth Congressional District after 1947.

Q. I believe you stated that you used the theoretical 7910 text in addition to these newspapers and magazine-type publications in connection with current events. Can you give us an example of how this was done, an illustration of your use. A. That was a common technique used because we were taught at our training schools that always we were to apply the lessons of Marxism-Leninism to present-day affairs, that these were guides for action and not simply books to be read and put away. I know in the history of the CPSU, I can't recall the exact section that it is in—

Q. Would it help if I got the book for you? A. Yes, it would. There is a section of the history of the CPSU which was used.

(Off the record)

MR. TAYLOR: I think it is Petitioner's Exhibit 330 that we refer to.

By MR. TAYLOR:

Q. I hand you Petitioner's Exhibit 330, which is the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshe-

viks). As Let's see if I can find an example. Here is an example. I have to find a spot where we actually applied it that I can recollect a specific application. In 1946 the Communist Party decided to back the Third Party movement, which I believe by 1947 had moved into the Progressive Party, and was known as the Wallace Party movement, and a discussion, sort of a class, you might call it, was begun throughout the entire district, in every cell, to point out the reasons why the Communist Party should back a non-communist organization, because the Progressive Party of course was not Communist. There were many non-communists in it. As an example, to establish a theoretical basis, to give a foundation as to the reasons why the Communist Party would so conduct itself, the Communist Party referred to history of the CPSU, from pages 46 through 52. I will just read some of the material here to show you how it was done.

"Certain elements of the Communist Party in Russia"—

MR. LAFOLLETTE: What page are you reading from?

THE WITNESS: Back on page 44.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: All right.

THE WITNESS: "Certain elements called the Mensheviks had opposed the Communist Party in certain respects, and Lenin pointed out the proper techniques of the Communist Party so far as working with other organizations and non-communists. There were several points to the program.


No. 1: "The Marxist party is a part, a detachment of the working class. But the working class has many detachments, and hence not every detachment of the working class can be called a party of the working class. The party differs from other detachments of the working class primarily by the fact that it is not an ordinary detachment," such as an ordinary labor union or even the Progressive Party.  
 7912 "• • • it is not an ordinary detachment, but the vanguard detachment, a Marxist detachment of the working class, armed with a knowledge of the life of society, the

laws of its development \* \* \*, the laws of class struggle, and for this reason able to lead the working class and to direct its struggle. The Party must therefore not be confused with the working class, as the part must not be confused with the whole."

The party leader at the time in discussing that said that that means that the Communist Party, in working with other non-communists, do not confuse the issues and claim that the Progressive Party is the same as the Communist Party. It is not. The Communist Party's job in that respect is to be the leaders of the Progressive Party movement, the leader of any progressive movement, as those who are best educated to do that job.

Part No. 2: "The Party is not only the vanguard, the class-conscious detachment \* \* \*, but it is also an organized detachment of the working class, with its own discipline, which is binding on its members. Hence Party members must necessarily be members of some organization of the Party. If the Party were not an organized detachment of the class, not a system of organization, but a mere agglomeration of persons who declare themselves to be Party members \* \* \* and therefore are not organized, \* \* \* the Party would never have a united will, it could never achieve 7913 the United action of its members, and, consequently, it would be unable to direct the struggle of the working class \* \* \*."

The objection raised by the Mensheviks was that there were many intellectuals such as professors and university and high school students, who "Would remain outside the ranks of the Party, since they would not want to join any of the organizations of the Party, either because they shrink from party discipline, or as Plekhanov said at the Second Congress, because they consider it 'beneath their dignity to join some local organization'—this Mensheviks objection recoiled on the heads of the Mensheviks themselves; for the party does not need members who shrink from party discipline and fear to join the party organization."





That is No. 2.

Step No. 3: "The party is not merely an organized detachment, but 'the highest of all forms of organization of the working class', and its mission is to build all the other organizations of the working class. As the highest form of organization, consisting of the finest members of the class, armed with an advanced theory with knowledge of the laws of the class struggle and with the experience of revolutionary movement, the party has every opportunity of guiding—and it is obliged to guide—all of the other organizations of the working class."

7914 This of course was pointed out as one of the reasons why it was an obligation of the Communist Party to get behind the Third Party movement and to help in directing them and guiding them.

No. 4: "The Party is an embodiment of the connection of the vanguard of the working class with the working class millions. However fine the vanguard of the Party may be and however well it may be organized, it can not exist and develop without connections with non-Party masses"—and of course the Progressive Party was a non-party mass—"and without multiplying and strengthening these connections. A party which shuts itself up in its own shell and isolates itself from the masses and loses, or even relaxes, its connections with its class is bound to lose the confidence and support of the masses, and consequently, is surely bound to perish."

No. 5: "In order to function properly and to guide the masses systematically, the Party must be organized on the principles of centralism, having one set of rules and uniform party discipline, one leading organ—".

No. 6: "In its practical work, if it wants to preserve the unity of its ranks, the Party must impose a common proletarian discipline, equally binding on all Party members—".

7916 MR. LAFOLLETTE: I believe it has some relevancy.



What did the teacher or the leader say with reference to these latter things?

THE WITNESS: The leader, of course, in reading the material said that these lessons especially applied to the questions that had come up in Party circles as to why we were bothering to spend so much time with a non-Communist organization such as the Progressive Party, why we should back a non-Communist organization. The teacher said that we must always strengthen our contact with the masses. We must never separate ourselves from mass organization work, because it is our duty to maintain ties with them and be the leaders, the intelligent leaders of the working class movement. And the instructors used this text as proof of the statements that they were making, as a basis.

By MR. TAYLOR:

Q. Mr. Philbrick, from the time you joined the Communist Party in early 1944 through the period of your membership in the Communist Political Association, and through the period of your membership in the Reconstituted Communist Party, up to the present stage of our testimony in 1946, were you an open member of the Communist Party? A. No,

I was never an open member of the Communist Party, 7917 and on at least three occasions I was instructed not to reveal my Communist Party membership.

Q. Did you have Communist Party membership cards during this period? A. Yes, up until 1947 I did have a Communist Party card, or I was issued a Communist Party card.

Q. To what use did you put this card? Did you put it to any use? A. Yes, the Communist card was good for an identification, especially when going into the Eighth Congressional District and visiting, first getting into meetings as a new, unknown person of course, and using that as a method of identification.

Q. Did these cards have on them your full name? A. Almost always no. The regulation was supposed to be that

only my first name would appear on the Party cards, and of course only my first name would be used in Party work. However, I believe it was on the 1946 card that was given to me by Frank Collier he made the mistake of writing out my whole name on the card.

Q. You say he made the mistake. How do you know that was a mistake on the part of Mr. Collier? A. I know that he was reprimanded later for it by one of the Communist Party leaders.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Who was Collier at that time?

7918 THE WITNESS: Frank Collier at the time was the—

I don't recall his exact title, but he was one of the leaders in the Eighth Congressional District, one of the top leaders, and it was he who came around to my home and brought me my new 1946 card and collected my dues, the dues of myself and of my wife, too, who carried a Communist Party Card.

By MR. TAYLOR: Did you keep this card throughout 1946?

A. No, I didn't.

Q. What did you do with it? A. Early in 1946 I was ordered to participate in a congressional campaign, in the campaign of a congressional candidate, and as such I was to attach myself to the office of the congressional candidate as a non-Communist. So for security reasons I was ordered to destroy the card.

7920 Q. You testified that you were assigned to participate in the congressional campaign in 1946. As a consequence, you were supposed to destroy your 1946 card. Who gave you that assignment? A. The first orders came from the head office, Fanny Hartman, who in turn instructed me to contact Nat Mills, in the Eighth Congressional District, who was the Communist Party chairman in charge of the 1946 Congressional campaign program.

Q. What candidate? A. Mills, I might add, was the husband of Alice Mills, who had first introduced me to the Cambridge Youth Council.

Q. To what extent were you supposed to participate in the congressional campaign? Just what was your participation supposed to consist of? A. Of course my field was advertising and sales promotion and public relations, and  
7921 therefore that was to be my particular job in the congressional campaign in Malden. I was ordered to participate, to take part in the campaign of Anthony Roche, Anthony Roche, Congressional Candidate for the Eighth Congressional District in 1946. Since Tony Roche was not only a non-Communist but anti-Communist it was impossible for the Communist Party to work in his campaign as Communists. Therefore, I was used as an underground communist—

7922 Q. Were you told why the Communist Party was interested in the political campaign of Anthony Roche, a non-Communist or anti-Communist? A. Yes, I was.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Who told you and when?

THE WITNESS: We were told early in 1946 at one of our Communist Party cell meetings following a text which appeared in the magazine Political Affairs concerning the importance of the coming 1946 first postwar congressional elections. I recall very little about the article itself, or who wrote it.

MR. DAFOLLETTE: What is it you were told?

THE WITNESS: Based upon that article, we were told that the 1946 elections were going to be very, very important to the Communist Party and to the country and that Communists should participate in the campaign to the fullest extent.

7923 MR. LAFOLLETTE: Do you remember who told you that?

THE WITNESS: Let's see. It would be in a cell. The cell would have included Nat Mills and Alice Mills, and the various other members of the cell at that time. I don't recall all of them now. We were further told that that meant that we would participate not simply in backing the cam-

paigns of non-Communists but of Communists too, here and there.

MR. LAFOLLETTE:

What position did either of the Mills hold in the cell or in the Party?

THE WITNESS: Alice Mills was the head of the 7924 branch while her husband was in the service, and then after Nat Mills came out of the service I don't recall whether she continued as head of it or whether he was head of it.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Did they have a position in any higher echelon of the Party other than the branch?

THE WITNESS: No, they were simply the branch organizers.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Branch leaders.

THE WITNESS: Yes.

By MR. TAYLOR:

Q. Can you tell us anything else about Nat Mills? A. Of course he was the head of the Massachusetts Youth Council back in 1940 and '41. Later when he moved to Malden he became one of the heads of the branch in Malden, Massachusetts, and then at a still later date he was assigned the position of colonizer in the G. E. plant at Lynn, Massachusetts, and at or about that time moved his home and his family to Lynn, Massachusetts.

Q. Was the term colonizer defined by any of the Party leaders in Massachusetts in your presence? A. Yes, it was. The term colonizer was defined at a Party builders' conference the early part of 1947, February of 1947.

Q. By whom was it defined? A. Let me see now. It was defined by Manny Blum, district organizer, and it 7925 was defined by Otis Hood, the district president or the Massachusetts president.

Q. Do you know what occasioned the scheduling of a Party builders' conference at this time? A. My memory is



vague on it, except that the Party builders' conference followed a—I don't recall whether it was a directive that came into the district office or just what it was, but it tied in with some sort of instructions or orders that came to us from the National Headquarters, which reached us some time in the latter part of 1946, I would say.

Q. What purpose was the Party builders' conference concerned with? A. The purpose of the Party builders' conference, number one, of course was to build the 7926 Party, to gain a great many new members and to gain new readers for *The Worker* and the *Daily Worker*, to build and strengthen the Party in every way. Also at the convention held in Massachusetts, which was in the Ritz-Plaza Hall on Huntington Avenue, Boston, we were told specifically that the convention would apply to key industries or to decisive industries in the United States. Fanny Hartman was the lead-off speaker that day, and she described the key industries or the basic industries of the United States as those large industries which are owned and controlled directly by American capitalists and American imperialists. She said that the intent of the American imperialists and American capitalists was to embroil the world in a world war, with of course Russia being the prime target and of course the people's democracies being the prime target. She said that the major tools, the major weapons in the hands of these imperialists were the war plants, the big war industries and basic industries. She said that these plants of the imperialists must be attacked and destroyed, that we must break up the possibility of a World War III and especially a world war against the Soviet Union.

Q. Were there any other addresses given at that conference? A. Yes. Joe Figuerito, who was branch organizer in the Southern part of the District L, spoke, but I don't recall what he had to say now. Manny Blum was the 7927 first speaker to call for organizers and he defined the term colonizer, which I had never heard up to that time. He said that a colonizer was a party member who

would take up a position in a key industry and to establish himself in that industry as a leader, as a center, and around him to build a core of other Communists in the industry, a hard core of disciplined Communists, plus as many workers as could be convinced to follow them. He said it was necessary for the Colonizer to give up his job, if he had one, at a smaller plant or in a smaller business, and take up a job in a key industry or a big business. Furthermore, they defined what they meant by key industries. Nationally that means the steel industry, the automobile industry, the coal industry, and so forth. In New England we were told that the specific plants, the specific war plants, the specific tools of American imperialism in our area were plants such as the communications centers, the steel industry, too, although it is not too large in that area but we did have one member assigned to be a colonizer in the steel business, and especially that of the General Electric plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, where we were told, jet engines were being developed and being produced. I did not at that time have any personal knowledge outside of the Party that jet engines were being made at that plant, but we were told that at this meeting.

7928 Otis Hood spoke and said that the position of a colonizer was one of the very highest honors in the Communist Party.

7930 Q. While you were in the Communist Party did you yourself make it a practice to read the Party publications such as the Daily Worker, the Worker, and Political Affairs, regularly? A. Yes, I did.

7931 Q. On page 818 appears the statement "The Daily Worker is our Central Organ." Does that coincide with your understanding of the position of the Daily Worker in the Communist Party?

7932 THE WITNESS: The answer to the first question is yes, and the reason for it was that as an active educational leader for the Party there I was told many times that the Daily Worker was one of the most important facets of Party life, that every Communist Party member was supposed to read it. On the membership card itself, such as the one I have in front of me, it says on the membership card "Read the Daily Worker and the Worker." That is on the Communist Party card. All of us understood—

. . . . .

7933 MR. LAFOLLETTE: I can't help but think that this is not going too far afield. You were told that the Daily Worker was important to a communist?

THE WITNESS: We were told that it was the most important printed document in the Party to every Communist.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Did you talk to any other Communist about the Daily Worker? A. Yes.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Did they have any opinion other than yours, as to its importance, any with whom you discussed it?

THE WITNESS: Oh, yes.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Did they have any opinion different from yours?

THE WITNESS: No. I have never heard any criticism inside of the Party or any complaints about the Daily Worker. All of us were told that we should subscribe to it and read it and that we should follow it as the Communist Party newspaper. There was no other newspaper ever defined to us as a Communist Party newspaper as was the Daily Worker.

. . . . .

7935 Q. Mr. Philbrick, in 1947 were you attached to any club or branch of the Communist Party in Massachusetts? A. For the first part of the year 1947 I was attached to the Eighth Congressional District or the Malden

branch, and I remained in that branch until September of 1947 when my membership was transferred into the pro group of the Communist Party in District 1.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: What is the pro group?

THE WITNESS: The pro group was composed of the most deeply underground Party members in the Party—

THE WITNESS: —composed of white collar workers and professional workers, that is, people who were doctors or lawyers or teachers, college professors, and businessmen, government workers, and so forth. Our cell was limited, generally speaking, to members above the executive secretary class, perhaps, from that class up.

7937 Q. What was the designation? How was that group referred to in the Party in Massachusetts? Did it bear a title? Was "pro group" the title or did it have some other title? A. The pro group was never mentioned to the other members of the Communist Party in Massachusetts.

THE WITNESS: It was not known at all. It was not known to exist by the rank and file Party members in Boston.

By MR. TAYLOR:

Q. What was its title among you people who were in the pro group? A. Will you repeat the question?

Q. What was its title or designation among those of you who were members of the so-called pro group? A. We understood ourselves to be members of the pro group. The various pro groups had various designations, such as Pro 4. My own cell at the very beginning was Pro 4. Later on I became a member of Pro 5. There was another pro group known as MO. In other words, the pro cells had no definite name. We had a symbol or designation.

7938 Q. How many members were there in the pro group as a whole in the Party in Massachusetts? A. In



Massachusetts the pro group had somewhere between 70 and 80 members.

Q. How many would you have in an individual cell? A. At the time I joined, the individual cells ran up to 10, 12, or even 15 in a cell.

Q. Who instructed you to drop your membership in the Malden branch and become a member of a pro group? A. I received those instructions from Fanny Hartman.

Q. Did these various cells of the pro group maintain contact with each other? A. At the first of 1947 until the first year of 1948 we were able to keep in touch with each other somewhat. However, the main lines of communications were through the leaders of the pro groups who in turn were in contact with the pro council of the professional group organization, the pro council being the highest governing body of the pro group.

7939 Q. You stated that the pro group was an underground group, and that they met in small units or cells and had only certain contacts with other cells of the pro group. Were there any other security measures in force? A. At the time the Mundt-Nixon bill was under discussion here in Washington, a courier by the name of Pete, who was our liaison, our contact from the state office, came around to give us still further instructions. Incidentally, I might say that before that time our instructions were, number one, no member of the pro cell was ever to go near the state office of the Communist Party. We were forbidden to go even near to the state office. Up until that time I had worked at the state office quite frequently, working on literature and for the educational division. Number two, we were not to telephone the state office. If we had any messages for the state office we were to refer them to our leader in the cell, who in turn would pass the message on up. If absolutely necessary to call someone at the state office, we were to use a pay station, and not our own telephone. We were not to use our whole names in the pro cell.

We used only our first names or nicknames. Therefore, for purposes for which I was in the organization it was quite difficult sometimes to find out who the people were.

7940 That to me meant they were underground. Number four, we were never to carry a Party card. In fact, pro cell people were never issued a card. At times previously I have testified how I was issued a card and later ordered to destroy it, but the pro cell people were never issued a Party card. Those rules were enforced before the Mundt-Nixon Bill.

And after the Mundt-Nixon Bill, or at the time the Mundt-Nixon Bill was being discussed, and I believe it had already passed Congress and was going to the Senate, then we received even more stringent instructions. First of all, we were broken down, our previous cells and units were broken down into groups of not more than five people, although up until this time we had had 10 or more. That was number one. Secondly, we were not to have anything to do with people, with comrades that we knew, not have anything to do with them either officially or socially if they belonged to another pro cell. We were to stick strictly to the five or less people in our own cell. If we happened to know the name of a comrade in another pro cell, we were not to mention his name as a Communist inside of our cell. We were to keep quiet. There was a whole raft of instructions. We were very cautious, even more cautious than we had been, about having our meetings. For example, we were not to have our meetings at the same house all of the time, but would change our places of meeting around, shift them, so that no one would become suspicious because we

7941 always had a group of people meeting at one place.

Furthermore, we were ordered to change the nights of meeting, so that we would not always meet on a Tuesday night. Written messages of meetings, that is, written notices of meetings were forbidden. Then we had to agree at a previous meeting when the next meeting would be. If it so happened for some reason or other we were not there and

still a leader had to get in touch with you, the message would come through in a disguised form so that it would not mean anything to anybody outside of the recipient.

Those were some of the instructions. Pete was there quite a while giving us those instructions.

We were told finally that these regulations were to go into effect with the pro group immediately, that we were to put them into effect then, and we were to begin breaking our group down into these groups of not more than five. We were told that the same instructions were being given to the rest of the comrades in the Communist Party, the rank and filers, but, however, that the regulations would not go into effect with them, but were being held in abeyance, and if the Mundt-Nixon Bill should pass, then they would be put into action.

7942 Q Do you recall the approximate date when these last instructions that you were mentioning were communicated to you through Pete? A. The last time our cell met as a large group was some time in the late winter of 1948 or the early spring of 1948, around June 1.

Q Was there any device or organizational structure through which separate units of the pro group might maintain some sort of liaison with each other and with the state headquarters? A. Yes, there was. Quite an elaborate organizational network was set up so that the group could function as a whole. We had representatives from our own cells. One representative from each cell would represent our small cell on a group called—what do they call it now—they call it a sub-council. The sub-council, which was the next highest rank above us, would have not more than five people in its membership. They in turn would elect one member from that group, who in turn would represent them on the pro-council which was the highest governing body of the council. Then of course liaison was established between the pro council and the Communist

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Party headquarters in Boston and a similar liaison was established between the pro council and the Communist Party office in New York.

Q. Who was the representative of your cell to the sub-council? A. Martha Fletcher was the representative of our cell.

Q. Did this structure of small cells and sub-council and pro-council and so forth, operate from the time it was set up as long as you continued your membership in the pro group?

THE WITNESS: Yes, it did.

By MR. TAYLOR:

Q. When did you terminate your connection with the pro group? A. I terminated that also on April 6, 1949.

Q. Before this second breakdown went into effect, into cells of five, and so forth, when you first joined the pro group, how frequently was your unit meeting? A. Meetings were every other week.

Q. What took place at these meetings? A. The 7944 conduct of the meetings was precisely the same as it had been in the above grounds Communist cells, with the three individual sessions that we have mentioned before, that is, the dues collecting and the literature sales, and the activities of the group, and that of the educational session.

Q. Do you recall what you were studying at the educational session when you joined the pro group in 1947?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I do. The pro cell when I joined the group had just begun to study a book called "State and Revolution," and they had already begun the course and had started the first chapter, and were part way through the first chapter. From the time I joined up until close to the end of the year they continued to study "State and

Revolution," taking it up chapter by chapter at each meeting.

7945 Q. Who handled the teaching assignments at these various educational sessions of the pro group of which you were a member? A. The teaching assignments were handled by the individual members of the cell under the direction of the educational director. When I first joined the cell, for about the first two meetings I was the educational director, although they had already started on this course. Thereafter I became the literature director, and Martha Fletcher was the educational director from that period on. Each class session was conducted by the members in the cell itself, who would be assigned to a particular chapter, and they would come in to the class prepared to conduct the instructions from that chapter, plus supplementary material that they would bring in.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Did you know Martha Fletcher before you became a member? A. Yes. That is how I happened to know her complete name. Martha Fletcher I knew from my activities in the American Youth for Democracy, when she was active on the national level with that group. She was on the editorial board of Spotlight, the national 7946 magazine of American Youth for Democracy. She participated in many of our activities as a unitarian youth worker, working in the office of Stephen Fritchman in Boston. I had come into contact with her many times over the years.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Did she hold any official position during the time that you knew her?

THE WITNESS: She was a member of the pro council, which was the highest governing body of the pro group.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: All right.

By MR. TAYLOR:

Q. You people studied the entire book, State and Revolution? A. Yes, we did.

Q. Did you discuss the entire book in class? A. Yes, we did.

Q. Did you subscribe to the Daily Worker and to The Worker while you were a member of the pro group? A. The pro group for the most part did not subscribe to the Worker and Daily Worker, in order not to have their names on the mailing list of that newspaper. Instead, we got our Daily Workers and Workers and Cominform bulletins and other material from the Progressive Bookshop in Boston, and as the literature director that was one of my jobs, to get that material and bring it to the pro group meetings.

Q. Were there any publications which you furnished regularly, that is, every issue as it came out, which you as literature director furnished to your particular pro group, pro cell, regularly? A. Yes, there were three that I provided—there were four that I provided regularly. No. 1 was what was generally known, incorrectly too, I believe, as the Cominform Bulletin, "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy," every issue of that was provided to the pro group. Political Affairs was provided to the pro group, every issue. Masses and Mainstream was provided to the pro group. Now and then others would be obtained, such as Science and Society, which was a Marxist quarterly. The Worker and the Daily Worker—usually I would bring up only those issues that had something of great interest, such as a plenum issue or an issue carrying a draft resolution by the national board, or whenever some other matter of great importance was contained in them.

The reason for that was it was simply too bulky to carry two weeks' supply of Workers and Daily Workers to the meeting. It was a physical impossibility.

Q. Were there any other publications which were furnished to your cell in the pro group that you haven't mentioned? A. I can't recall any other issues that were provided, although I did bring of course to each meeting a large supply of the current issues of a lot of material. The



Party of course published a great many small pamph-  
7948 lets and booklets, running from one cent to 25 cents  
per piece, and I provided all of those, plus of course,  
again, the Marxist-Leninist basic books and material.

Q. Was "Soviet Russia Today" furnished to the mem-  
bers of the pro group? A. Yes, Soviet Russia Today was  
one of those that I obtained, not all of the time, but most of  
the time.

Q. I believe you testified that it was your job to furnish  
them particularly important issues of the Daily Worker  
and to find out what articles were of importance and should  
be studied. Was there a decision of your own or were you  
furnished that information? A. I was furnished that in-  
formation by Frank Collier at the Progressive Bookshop.

7949 Q. How do you know that he was informed what  
publications to furnish you and what articles to tell  
you to study by the headquarters of the Communist Party  
in Massachusetts?

THE WITNESS: I know that because I was told by the state  
headquarters that that was the way I would operate. I  
could no longer go to state headquarters to get the informa-  
tion directly. I could not telephone them. So in that sense  
Frank Collier was to be the courier who would provide me  
with that information.

7951 Q. You just stated that at the same time you were  
in this deeply underground pro group you maintained  
some sort of connection with the state headquarters. Will  
you explain to us just how that was done?

THE WITNESS: It meant that messages from the state  
headquarters or actual physical passage of leaflets and raw  
material had to be done by means of courier, and there were

two persons that I was told to be in contact with 7952 for that purpose. One was Frank Collier at the Progressive Bookshop.

THE WITNESS: Frank Collier was one of the persons, and then a Comrade Max was another one of these individuals. I don't know if I can remember his last name now or not, but it was Comrade Max. It was through these people that I received information from the state office as to what work I was to do in an educational capacity.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: Where did you meet Max?

THE WITNESS: I met him at drugstores, I met him quite frequently at the Liggett's Drugstore at the corner 7953 of Tremont and Boylston Street in Boston.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: How would you arrange the time to meet? Would he call you?

THE WITNESS: He would call me. Occasionally I met with Daniel Boone Schirmer of the state office and he would also call me in advance from a pay station and then we would meet in a restaurant, usually the Waldorf Restaurant in Scollay Square. It was quite complicated and ran over a period of two years.

By MR. TAYLOR:

Q. Did you receive a copy of "For a Lasting Peace," which was furnished to your pro cell from Frank Collier?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Your pro unit held their meetings during the period of time from December of 1947 through April of 1948?

A. Yes, it did, every other week.

Q. Do you recall what were the topics of discussion at the meetings held during that period of time? A. The major topic of discussion that occurred in that period of time was that concerned with A. Zhdanov's report which appeared in the Cominform Bulletin. It had actually appeared some time before the end of the year 1947, but we were involved

in this study of "State and Revolution" and so we  
 7954 took up the discussion of the Zhdanov report after  
 the first of the year, some time in 1948.

7955 MR. LAFOLLETTE: The objection is sustained. Why  
 did you study it?

THE WITNESS: We were told to study it.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: By whom?

THE WITNESS: By Frank Collier.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: All right. Did Collier tell you why you  
 were to study it?

THE WITNESS: Yes, he certainly did.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: He was your contact?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: This was in the process of your contact  
 with him?

THE WITNESS: Yes, it was.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: And he was a representative of the  
 state headquarters?

THE WITNESS: That is right.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: What did he tell you?

THE WITNESS: He told me that it was the key to the whole  
 movement. I don't recall what else he said, but that was  
 the chief thing he said, that this was the key to the whole  
 movement, and this is what it means, and study it  
 7956 in all of the cells. We were to study it in our cell.

MR. LAFOLLETTE: You took the literature there,  
 and then the discussion leader discussed it?

THE WITNESS: That is right.

7999 Q. Mr. Philbrick, did you discuss Tito and the  
 Communist Party of Yugoslavia at any other meet-  
 ings of your pro cell? A. Yes. We discussed Tito and Yugo-  
 slavia at two of the meetings after the Juna meeting. It  
 so happened that the change in Tito's position took place

between meetings, so it made rather a fast change in our particular cell.

THE WITNESS: Then a full and organized discussion took place in August of that year at which time we used one of the magazines, Political Affairs, as a discussion guide.

By MR. TAYLOR:

Q. When was this first meeting that you mentioned, the first of these two, what month? A. In July, 1948.

8000 Q. I show you Petitioner's Exhibit for identification No. 344—

Q. And call your attention to an article beginning on page 690, running through page 698, headed "Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia," and ask you if you have seen that resolution. A. Yes, sir; I have seen this resolution.

Q. When did you first see this resolution? A. I first saw the resolution printed in the Daily Worker, and shortly thereafter I saw it again printed in the Cominform Bulletin when it was delivered to our pro cell, in addition to the fact that I had also seen it in the copy of the book which I now have before me.

Q. I call your attention to Petitioner's Exhibit 260, 8001 which appears in this same August 1948 issue of Political Affairs, pages 699 and 700, and is headed "Statement on the Information Bureau Resolution concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia," and I ask you if you have seen that. A. Yes, sir, I have seen this, in this volume, and I believe this also appeared in The Worker or the Daily Worker. I think also that this was in substance—it is very close, I can't recall specifically, but it looks very close to a statement by Foster and Dennis which appeared in the Cominform Bulletin some time in that same period of time.



Q. Did your pro cell discuss the Cominform resolution which is Petitioner's Exhibit 344 for identification? A. Yes, it did.

Q. And the Foster-Dennis statement which is Petitioner's Exhibit 260 at any of their meetings? A. Yes, we did. We discussed these two—Let's see now. We had a rather disorganized discussion of it at a July meeting, and then in the August meeting we had an organized discussion carried on by Comrade Harry Winner of my pro cell.

8003 Q. Will you give us, if you can recall, any of the comments or any of the action that was taken by members of the pro cell in the July 1948 meeting? A. The only specific comments I can recall clearly were those that were made by Harry Winner, who was leading the discussion. He said that the Central Committee of the CPSU, Soviet Union, had rendered a great service in revealing the Marxist-Leninist errors of Tito. He further said that  
8004 the Cominform itself had rendered a great service to the cause of peace in the world by further revealing and elaborating upon the errors of Tito. He said that Tito had made great Marxist errors both in his foreign policy and his internal policy and that he appeared to be more of a petty bourgeoisie nationalist than Marxist-Leninist.

The other members of our pro cell agreed, after some discussion, with the conclusions and statements made by the leader of the discussion, Harry Winner.

THE WITNESS: As I say, the July meeting was one of some confusion, but there again no one disagreed with the statements made at that time in the Daily Worker or in the Cominform Bulletin.

8023 Q. Mr. Philbrick, on the basis of your membership and active participation in the Communist Party and

Communist Party activities for a number of years, will you give us your understanding whether or not it was possible for yourself or any other members of your 8024 group to refuse to accept the decision of the Cominform regarding the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and still continue membership in the Communist Party of the United States of America?

. . . . .

THE WITNESS: It is my understanding that a member of the Communist Party could not disagree with a directive or a position taken by the Cominform and still remain to be a member of the Communist Party.

. . . . .

Q. I show you a copy of Petitioner's Exhibit No. 8036 331, which purports to be a copy of the Daily Worker, March 3, 1949, and call your attention to an article on page 3 headed "U. S. Communists Oppose Wall Street War, says Foster, Dennis," and I ask you if you have ever seen that article in that edition of the Daily Worker. A. Yes, sir; I have seen this article in this Daily Worker.

Q. Was that article discussed in any Communist Party activity? A. Yes; it was. This article was discussed in the Otis Hood class at the Boston School of Marxist Studies.

Q. Who led the discussion? A. Mr. Hood led the discussion.

Q. Will you relate to us the substance of the discussion led by Otis Hood?

. . . . .

THE WITNESS: Mr. Hood said that we had already studied the nature of imperialism and the nature of capitalism, and that we had already learned that imperialism and capitalism breeds wars and breeds depression and breeds most of the evils which are inherent in the Society of the World of today. He said we recognize that capitalism in the 8037 United States was that type of organization, an organization which developed wars and depressions,

a state organization of oppression, oppression directed not only against the people of the United States, the working people of the United States, but oppression which was rapidly being directed against the peoples of the world. He then went on to say that of course as Communists we recognize that we are on the side of the working peoples of the world. He said the basic question, becomes what do we mean by patriotism and what is true patriotism. He said that it must be perfectly clear to us that as Communists we recognize that as patriots, the true patriot is the one who fights on the side of the working class and who fights against capitalism. Therefore he said, Foster and Dennis were completely correct in their statement issued not only in the Daily Worker but a statement which was issued to the press, that they were completely correct in boldly taking this stand and stating unequivocally that in case of an imperialist war on the part of the United States, all Communists not only in this country but in the world would oppose that war in every way possible, that we would do everything we could to stop the war and to defeat the military operations of the capitalist government of the United States.

By MR. TAYLOR:

8038 Q. Mr. Philbrick, on the basis of your active participation in Communist Party affairs, your attendance at the innumerable party meetings, your attendance at classes, discussions with local party officials, can you recall any instances in which criticism was leveled by the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States, local or national, against the policies or activities of the Soviet Union?

THE WITNESS: The answer is simply no, I never recall hearing any criticism directly against the Soviet Union.

8039 Q. In those instances in which the policies of the United States Government and the policies of the Soviet Union appeared to be in conflict, was the Communist Party leadership, either local or national, to the best of your knowledge ever sympathetic with the point of view of the United States Government?

• • • • •

8040 THE WITNESS: I can not recall any instance where the policy of the United States seemed to differ from the policy of the Soviet Union that any leader of the Communist Party appeared to be sympathetic to the

8041 policies of the United States.

• • • • •

Q. Mr. Philbrick, based on the entire gamut of your Communist Party experience, that is, the period of years in which you were a member, attending classes, conversations with officials, reading of Communist Party literature, attendance at meetings and so forth, will you relate to us your understanding of the basic objectives of the Communist Party in the United States?

• • • • •

8043 THE WITNESS: In that period of time it was to establish a Soviet State in the United States following, without any deviation, the dictates and the methods laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. To repeat all the methods would be to go through all the testimony that I gave.

• • • • •

8044 Q. I amend the question, then. Mr. Philbrick, did you ever use a pseudonym while a member of the Communist Party? A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was that pseudonym? A. At least one of the pseudonyms, the one I used most was Arthur Trobridge.

Q. When did you use that pseudonym? A. I used that name while a member of the pro group and while still a member of the state educational commission. That was my name as a member of the state educational commission.



Therefore, in instances such as in that Boston School of Marxist Studies job that I delivered through the locker to Manny Blum, I included in that a notation to Manny explaining how the job should be run off, my judgment as to the type of paper and so forth, and signed it as usual, Arthur Trobridge.

. . . . .

8259 **John Victor Blanc** called as a witness for Petitioner, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

Direct Examination

. . . . .

By MR. STORY:

8274 Q. Mr. Blanc, you were testifying at the recess yesterday about attending an emergency meeting of the County Committee which was called to discuss the Duclos article. What was the Duclos article? A. The Duclos article was an article which appeared in The Worker, the Communist Press, in May of 1945, criticizing the work of the Communist Political Association of the United States and urging it to revert back to the old revolutionary tactics of the Communist Party.

Q. Who wrote the article? A. Jacques Duclos of France, of the Communist Party.

. . . . .

8275 Q. What meeting was called to discuss the Duclos Article? A. It was a County Committee meeting of Cuyahoga County, Cleveland, Ohio.

Q. When was the meeting called? A. It was called in May of 1945 at the Hotel Hollenden in Cleveland, Ohio.

. . . . .

Q. Do you recall the names of any of the speakers at this meeting? A. I do. Arnold Johnson presided at this meeting and gave the main report. Roy Hudson, a Party functionary from New York City, was also present at this meeting.

Q. What position did Arnold Johnson hold at that time?  
 A. Arnold Johnson at that time was state chairman of the Communist Party in Ohio.

Q. What was the substance of Johnson's report to  
 8276 the group? A. Johnson gave a very lengthy report to the delegates at this meeting and read Duclos' article and also was in favor of a resolution which was to be adopted abolishing the Communist Political Association and reverting the Party back to the Communist Party of America.

Q. Did Johnson approve or disapprove the Duclos article? A. Arnold Johnson highly praised the Duclos article at that time.

Q. What did Mr. Hudson have to say at this meeting?  
 A. Mr. Hudson spoke on the Duclos article at the same time, and he urged every delegate at that meeting to take the resolution back to their club meetings and to discuss it with their members and have it adopted so it could  
 8277 be acted upon at the state convention at a later date.

Q. You stated that Mr. Hudson was a Communist Party functionary from New York. Do you know what position he held? A. I do not.

Q. Were any resolutions passed at this meeting? A. A resolution adopting the Duclos article to revert the Communist Political Association back to the revolutionary tactics, was adopted.

Q. Mr Blanc, was the Duclos article discussed at  
 8282 the state convention which was held in July 1945?  
 A. The Duclos article was discussed at this convention by all party functionaries who attended.

Q. Mr. LaFollette: What party functionaries were  
 8283 there at this convention?

The Witness: The duly elected delegates from the different clubs in the State of Ohio.

Mr. LaFollette: Were the state officers present?

The Witness: The State officers were present, yes, sir, at this convention.

Mr. LaFollette: Are they the people who discussed the resolution?

The Witness: Yes, that is right.

By Mr. Story:

Q. What generally was stated about the Duclos article at this convention in July 1945?

8285 The Witness: Arnold Johnson, who presided at this convention, along with Adeline Cole, Betty Erhart, Admiral Kilpatrick, Roy Dennis, strongly opposed the Communist Political Association of the United States and praised the Duclos article and said it was urgently necessary to revert the Party back to benefit the classes, and there was the time to do it, that the Party should be reconstituted back to the Communist Party of the United States to benefit the working class of the nation.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Mr. Blanc, at this convention were any of the national leaders of the Communist Political Association discussed?

8286 A. Earl Browder, who was then Chairman of the Communist Political Association of the United States, was criticized for the way he had run the Communist Political Association of the United States and for some statement that Browder had made claiming that the Communist Political Association of the United States could live with capitalism. The delegates at that convention disagreed with Browder's views and said that capitalism had to be abolished—

Mr. LaFollette: Can you identify who made the statement, whether or not it was the same people that you mentioned previously?

The Witness: Admiral Kilpatrick for one, Arnold Johnson for another.

Mr. LaFollette: What was Admiral Kilpatrick's position in the Communist Party of Ohio?

The Witness: Admiral Kilpatrick was a member of the Committee of the State of Ohio.

8301 Q. Mr. Blanc, during your association with the Communist Party in Ohio did you receive any information concerning Communist Party members who had been sent to the Soviet Union to school?

8302 The Witness: I have known three such Communists that told me they attended the Lenin Institute in Moscow, Abe Lewis, Admiral Kilpatrick, and Gus Hall.

By Mr. Story:

Q. They told you personally that they had attended the Lenin Institute in Moscow? A. They personally told me they attended the Lenin Institute in Moscow.

8308 Q. Mr. Blanc, you testified that you attended a Communist Party school at Camp Solidarity in Ohio in 1946. A. I did.

Q. What textbooks, if any, were used at this school? A. The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Imperialism; State and Revolution; Wage, Capital, and Labor—

Q. Was the school publicly announced in any way? A. It was not.

Q. Were any measures taken by the Communist Party to conceal the existence of this school?



8309 The Witness: Yes.

By Mr. Story:

Q. What measures were taken?

The Witness: I was told by the county office of the Communist Party prior to the opening of the school that I would be told where the school would be held. I was told also by the office that I would be notified in time to let me know what stuff I had to take, bed clothing, et cetera, because this would be a two-week full-time school, and no member would be allowed to leave the school until it was over.

By Mr. Story:

Q. After you arrived at the meeting place of the school, were any measures taken at the school to conceal the existence of the school?

The Witness: ~~Immediately when we congregated at the~~ school Hy Lumer, who was instructor at the school got the group together and told us that we weren't to leave the grounds under any circumstances unless we got special permission from him, and we were not to contact any-  
8310 body on the outside, that if we had to use the telephone we had to get special permission from him to use it.

Q. Mr. Blanc, you have testified that you attended another school at the West Side Hungarian Home in 1947. Do you recall when in 1947 you attended this school? A. That was in April of 1947.

Q. What textbooks, if any, were used at that school? A. The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Imperialism; State and Revolution; Wage, Labor and Capital; Political Affairs.

Q. Was that school publicly announced? A. It was not.

Q. Were any steps taken by the Communist Party to conceal the existence of the school?

The Witness: We were told not to divulge to the members of our clubs about this school, and although the measures weren't as strict as they were at Camp Solidarity School when I attended a two-week full-time school—

8311 The Witness: We were allowed to go home at the end of the classes and stay home overnight and we were told not to use the telephone in the building for contact with the outside.

Mr. LaFollette: What, if anything, did you do with reference to speaking to other members of the Party about your attendance at this school that you are now testifying about?

The Witness: We were told not to divulge the school membership. I was a member of the club, and I was told not to discuss it with the members of that club that I had been chosen for that school.

Mr. LaFollette: All right.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Now, Mr. Blanc, you have also testified that you attended a school in the summer of 1948. Approximately when in 1948 did you attend this school? A. That was either in July or August 1948.

8312 Q. Was this school publicly announced by the Communist Party? A. It was not.

Mr. Abt: May we have the place of the school?

The Witness: The West Side Hungarian Home in Cleveland, Ohio.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Were any steps taken by the Communist Party to conceal the existence of this school? A. Stricter steps

were taken at this school because this was during the period of the time that Gus Hall had disappeared—

The Witness: And many of the members of the school were very much concerned about where Hall was. We were told not to divulge to our membership or even to our families, although we were allowed to go home, where we spent our time during the day.

8313 Mr. Story: Mr. Clerk, will you mark this document as Petitioner's Exhibit 346.

(The document referred to was marked for identification Petitioner's Exhibit No. 346)

By Mr. Story:

Q. Mr. Blanc, I hand you a document and ask you if you can identify the document. A. This is a study outline used each day at the Ohio State Communist Party Marxist School at the West Side Hungarian Home in Cleveland, Ohio, from July 24 to August 1, 1948.

Q. Is this the study outline that you used while attending this school? A. This is the study outline that I used while at the school.

8315 Q. Mr. Blanc, during your association with the Communist Party from 1944 on, were members of the Communist Party open members of the Party, or concealed members of the Party?

The Witness: There were both open and concealed members of the Party. The open members were members who were on full time salary of the Communist Party, and the concealed members were members who belonged to union organizations or mass organizations and didn't want to come out in the forefront and admit they were Com-

8316 munist. They were concealed. I myself was told by Gus Hall not to make my identity known as a Communist in my plant due to the fact that I could do better work among the union members unbeknown to them that I was a Communist Party member.

Q. Mr. Blanc, were you publicly charged at any time as being a member of the Communist Party? A. Yes. I was.

Q. When and how were you charged as a member of the Communist Party? A. In the summer of 1948 the Cleveland News had run an exposé of the Communist Party members who participated in a Cleveland rally of the Communist Party.

Q. When did you say that the article appeared? A. In the summer of 1948.

Q. Did you discuss this newspaper article with any of the officials of the Communist Party of Ohio? A. Immediately after the exposé I contacted Gus Hall and William Haber and told them about the exposé in the news and what trouble it was giving me at my plant of employment. They told me I should go back to the plant and tell the workers that what the Cleveland News was running as an exposé on me was a lie, and not to admit to them that I was a Communist Party member.

Q. What position did Haber and Gus Hall hold at 8317 that time? A. Haber was head of the Cuyahoga County Civil Rights Congress. Gus Hall at that time was on the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Q. Did you contact the editor of the Cleveland News concerning this article? A. I did not contact the editor. I contacted the reporter who ran the exposé.

Q. What did you say to the reporter and what did the reporter say to you? A. I asked the reporter, A Mr. Kehoe, to retract the statement he had run in the exposé about my contributing to the May Day rally fund, and he told me that he had got the information from the Communist Press, The Worker, and that he had seen enough of my political



activities for quite some time, and although he couldn't openly accuse me of being a Communist he had seen enough to let that article stand and he would not retract it.

Q. Were you an active member of the Communist Party at that time? A. I was an active member of the Communist Party at that time.

Q. Mr. Blanc, did you receive any instructions as a member of the Communist Party on the admission of your Communist Party membership?

8318 The Witness: Yes, I have.

By Mr. Story:

Q. What instructions did you receive? A. The instructions given me by Gus Hall—

Mr. Abt: Mr. Chairman, may we have when and where?

Mr. LaFollette: I think you will. Go ahead. Tell when and where.

The Witness: The instructions given me by Gus Hall after the exposé was run in the Cleveland News in the summer of 1948, was not to reveal my membership in the Communist Party to my local union members of the Local No 776.

Mr. LaFollette: This is the same conversation you had, that you previously testified about?

The Witness: Yes.

By Mr. Story:

Q. After this article appeared in the Cleveland News were you called before any union group to admit or deny your membership in the Communist Party? A. On two different occasions. The first was at a local union meeting after the exposé appeared in the summer of 1948, a petition was drawn up by Local Union members of my local demanding that I either admit or deny that I was a Communist Party member. Upon the instructions I had

8319 received from Gus Hall previous to that, I took no stand. I did not deny or confirm that I was a mem-

ber of the Communist Party at that local union meeting.

Q. Were you called upon at any other time to admit or deny your Communist Party membership? A. In February of 1949, at that time when local union officers had been thrown up for re-election, I was nominated to the post of secretary-treasurer of that local, without opposition. Prior to the time that I had accepted the post, a group within the local union, through the chairman, wanted me to get up and either deny or confirm that I was a Communist.

Q. What action did you take? A. I didn't take any action. I did not answer them at that time.

Q. Did the Chairman call upon you to answer this charge? A. The chairman did not call upon me to answer that charge.

Q. Mr. Blanc, during your membership in the Communist Party do you recall any instances where members of the Communist Party were called before governmental agencies and asked if they were members of the Communist Party?

8320 The Witness: Yes.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Tell us where and when this information came to you. A. It was in April or May of 1945 that a Miss Patsy Shaw called me on the telephone and told me that she had been requested to appear at the Federal Bureau of Investigation to answer some question under the Hatch Act, as she was an employee of the Federal Government.

Mr. LaFollette: Who was she?

The Witness: She was a Communist Party member of my club.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Did Miss Shaw appear before the Federal Bureau of Investigation? A. Miss Shaw did appear before the Federal Bureau of Investigation. She had made arrangements

with me over the telephone to pick her up and I took her down for the interview.

Q. You took her to the offices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation? A. I did.

Q. Did you give Miss Shaw any advice or did she request any advice prior to the time she went into the offices of the FBI? A. In our conversation—

Mr. Abt: Just a moment. Yes or no, Mr. Chairman.

The Witness: Yes.

By Mr. Story:

Q. What advice did she request? A. In our conversation on the way to the Bureau with Miss Shaw, she told me she had talked to Arnold Johnson about appearing in front of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and answering charges about whether she was a Communist or not. She said that Arnold Johnson had told her to deny —

8322 The Witness: —that she was a member of the Communist Party, that it would be only a routine check as far as she was concerned.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Did Johnson hold any position in the Communist Party at that time? A. Arnold Johnson was state chairman of the Communist Party of Ohio at that time.

Q. Did Patsy Shaw request any advice from you prior to the time you took her to the offices of the FBI? A. She did.

Q. What advice did she want? A. She had asked me whether she should go down to the Bureau and deny that she was a member of the Communist Party, and I advised her—

The Witness: I advised Patsy that if this meant losing her job, to go ahead and deny she was a member of the Communist Party to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Mr. Blanc, were you present at any time when leaders of the Communist Party in Ohio discussed the action to be taken by Communist Party members under the Government loyalty program? A. Yes, I was.

Q. Where and when did this discussion take place? A. At a county central meeting at headquarters, where Ben Gray had been advising one of the members—

• • • • •  
8324 Q. Who participated in this discussion? A. Some member asked Ben Gray about the action that any Communist Party member should take if ever called in front of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Q. Did Gray hold a position at that time? A. Gray at that time was chairman of the Review and Control Board of Ohio.

Q. What did Gray say on this occasion? A. Gray told this member at no time to reveal your Party membership to the Federal Bureau, that there was no harm done in going down there and denying it, that it was only a matter of routine check-up that the Bureau had for anybody who worked in the Federal Government under the Hatch Act.

Mr. LaFollette: Who else was present at this conversation that you recall? A. Pardon?

Q. Who else was present when this advice or this conversation that you have just related, if you recall? A. Betty Erhart and myself were present at the time Ben Gray was telling this member.

Mr. LaFollette: All right. Who is Betty Erhart?  
8325 Did she have any position in the Communist Party?

The Witness: Betty Erhart was a member of the Communist Party. At that time I believe she was in charge of the press for Cuyahoga County.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Mr. Blanc, did the Communist Party in Ohio keep any records during your membership in the Party after 1944?



The Witness: Yes, they did.

By Mr. Story:

Q. What type of records were kept by the Communist Party?

8326 The Witness: I kept a record of the members when I was dues secretary of the Ward 22 Club. When I was press and literature director of Collinwood and Railroad Clubs I kept records at my home. In 1947 when I was Chairman of my shop club up to and including May of 1949, I kept records at my home of members' names, addresses, or any other records that the county gave me for policy for my club meetings.

Mr. LaFollette: What type of records did you keep as press and literature director?

The Witness: As press and literature director I had to have records of where to dispose of my papers and literature, at whose homes, who were Communist Party members.

Mr. LaFollette: You kept records?

The Witness: Yes, showing the names and addresses of these Communist Party members.

8327 Q. Did you continue to keep records in your Communist Party activities throughout your membership in the Party? A. I did.

Q. Did you at any time change the system by which the records of the Communist Party were kept? A. Security measures—

The Witness: Yes.

Mr. LaFollette: What did you do and when did you do it?

The Witness: For security measures—

The Witness: Originally we had kept records of name and card number for the purpose of collecting dues or any contribution that this Party member would make to the Party. That was at our disposal. From 1947 to 1949 when I was in the Party, the latter part of the time I spent in the Party; late in 1947 we set up what was commonly know among the Communist Party groups as card systems.

Mr. LaFollette: Describe it.

The Witness: The Club was to be divided into group captains. Every group captain would have two members to answer for. He would get a little score card where he would keep the numbers on it, not names, of the people that were under his direct charge, for the purpose of collecting dues and keeping the record straight on that. I as chairman got a master file, and I kept by numbers, not names, all the dues stamps that I distributed to these group captains.

Mr. LaFollette: May I ask you something about that. When you say numbers, do you mean the number, 2 or 3, or did you use numbers as designation of people's names?

The Witness: As an example in my club, I had 11 members and I went from 1 to 11. Any group captain who had a group under his charge, he knew what numbers referred to the Communist Party members that he was in charge of. That limited the names for the records.

Mr. LaFollette: May I ask, would a man have numbers 5 and 6 and that would be all he had, those numbers?

The Witness: The group captain, that is right. If he had two, he would probably have 5 and 6, and maybe he would be No. 7.

Mr. LaFollette: Would he know who 5 and 6 were?

The Witness: He would on his little card that he kept. He would check with me so I could get my master file straight, because I would know who No. 1 to No. 11 were in my club.

8332 Q. Mr. Blanc, after the number system had been initiated in your shop club where did you keep the records that you have just identified as Petitioner's Exhibits 347 and 347-A? A. These records I kept at my hothe.

Q. Did you keep any other records in addition to these records after 1947? A. After this was initiated we were told to destroy all the membership books, to collect all the membership books and any other records where records were kept of names and book numbers, and to use this exclusively for security reasons.

Q. By whom were you told that? A. By Betty Erhart at this October meeting of 1947.

Mr. LaFollette: What position did she hold? A. She was secretary to the Collinwood section of the Communist Party at that time.

8333 By Mr. Story:

Q. Did you destroy your records at that time? A. I collected all my membership party books and all of my records and brought them down to Betty Erhart's home and destroyed them in front of Betty Erhart and Roy Leib.

Q. At any other time did you receive any instructions from your superiors in the Communist Party to destroy Communist Party records? A. I did.

Q. When and from whom did you receive these instructions? A. I received instructions from Roy Leib to destroy my membership cards.

Q. When did this take place? A. This took place in February of 1948.

Q. Did you destroy your membership book at that time? A. I had handed it over to Roy Leib and he had destroyed it for me.

Q. Who was Roy Leib? A. Roy Leib was chairman of the Collinwood section of the Communist Party.

Q. Mr. Blanc, prior to the time the number system of keeping records in the Party came into use in the Party, what type of records did you use and what happened to those records after the new system came into existence?

A. The records that I didn't turn over to the Federal  
8334 Bureau I destroyed.

Q. You mean the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

A. That is right.

Q. Did you receive instructions to destroy those records?

A. I did.

Q. From whom? A. Betty Erhart and Roy Leib.

Mr. Abt: I think we have just been over that.

Mr. LaFollette: I think he is tying it up. That is all right. This is the same series of instructions you have just testified about, the same period of time?

The Witness: No. First I think I made myself clear or I would like to make myself clear at this time, that the shop records such as membership books I turned over to Betty Erhart and Roy Leib, but at home I had records that I was told to destroy by Betty Erhart and Roy Leib, and instead of destroying them, what I didn't turn over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I destroyed.

Mr. LaFollette: Were these the records that you kept when you were—

The Witness: Chairman of the shop club and dues secretary.

Mr. LaFollette: I see. This was when you were chairman shop club?

The Witness: That is right.

8335 Mr. LaFollette: What happened at the time you were literature and educational director of the Collinwood Club, I believe?

The Witness: Those records I had at home, because I was also in charge for literature and press in that section. It broke up into sections when security measures were taken, and the Collinwood section was the section that I belonged to. About nine or ten clubs would belong to a section.

Mr. LaFollette: Your shop club also belonged to the Collinwood section?

The Witness: That is right.



Mr. LaFollette: When did this take place?

The Witness: This took place in 1947.

8336 Q. You were testifying, Mr. Blanc, concerning the new system of keeping Communist Party records of dues and membership which was started some time in 1947. After this period did the Communist Party issue any directives or publications in writing to the smaller units of the party?

The Witness: No, they did not receive their directives.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Did you receive any directives in writing at all after this period? A. I did not.

8337 Q. Did you see any documents of any kind in writing which appeared to come from a higher Communist Party headquarters, directing the different clubs to do anything, to take any action?

The Witness: The Collinwood section at the home of Betty Erhart kept such records, and only her or Roy Leib handled them. Directives, stamps or anything pertaining to Party matters or policy were kept in a bread box at Betty Erhart's home.

Mr. LaFollette: How do you know that, Mr. Blanc?

The Witness: I have seen them myself.

Q. Prior to 1947 did you receive any directives personally which after 1947 you saw at the home of Betty Erhart?  
A. Prior to that—

8338 The Witness: I received directives mostly through the mail, although sometimes it would be handed to

me at the county office when I would be down there, mostly through the mails prior to the period 1947.

Q. Did you receive any directives at all after 1947 through the mail? A. I did not.

Q. Mr. Blanc, you testified before the noon recess that you received instructions to destroy the membership books for the different members of your shop club. Where did you receive these directives or these instructions? A. I received them from both Betty Erhart and Roy Leib.

Q. Approximately when did you receive those directives? A. In the fall of 1947.

Q. Was this at a Communist Party meeting? A. This was at a meeting conducted at Betty Erhart's home.

Q. What meeting? A. The Collinwood section of the Communist Party.

Q. Were any statements made at this meeting as to why the membership books were to be destroyed?

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The Witness: Yes.

• • • • •  
By Mr. Story:

Q. What was said?

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8339 The Witness: We were told for us to destroy all of the membership books for security reasons, that they did not want the books to get into the wrong hands.

Mr. LaFollette: Who made this statement?

The Witness: Betty Erhart made that statement.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Mr. Blanc, did any members of the Communist Party use a Party name or an alias at any time during your membership in the Party? A. Yes, they have.

Q. Did you at any time use a Party name or an alias in connection with your Communist Party activities? A. In 1934, '35, and '36 I used the Party name of Roy Smith.

Q. Why did you use a Party name?

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The Witness: I was told to use a Party name to conceal my identity in the Communist Party.

Mr. LaFollette: By whom?

The Witness: By Johnny Williamson.

Mr. LaFollette: Who was he?

8340 The Witness: Johnny Williamson at that time was a state functionary of the Communist Party of Ohio.

Mr. LaFollette: What position did he hold?

The Witness: He was state secretary.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Is that the same John Williamson that was at one time a member of the National Executive Board of the Communist Party? A. It is.

Q. Was Mr. Williamson one of the defendants in the Foley Square trial?

The Witness: That is right; he was.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Mr. Blane, was any other system used in Communist Party directives to conceal the identity of members of the Communist Party, other than the use of Party names? A. There was.

8341 The Witness: A directive was issued to the clubs for a recruiting drive, where the names weren't used in full. It is possible that their first name and their initial was used.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Were you told by any members of the Communist Party why that was done?

The Witness: I was.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Why was it done? A. For security reasons, for the Party members not to be identified as doing that type of work.

Mr. LaFollette: When was this?

The Witness: 1947.

Mr. LaFollette: By whom were you told?

The Witness: At the conference meeting.

Mr. LaFollette: At the conference meeting?

The Witness: At the General recruiting meeting.

Mr. LaFollette: Where was this general recruiting meeting held?

The Witness: It was held in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. LaFollette: Yes, but I mean was it held in any branch or section?

The Witness: The Collinwood section.

8349 Q. Mr. Blanc, I hand you Government's Exhibit 349 for identification and ask you if you can identify the document. A. Yes. This is the document which was given to me at that reconvened convention held in August of 1945, the recommendations of the nominating committee for the state committee.

Q. Is that the copy which you used during this convention? A. It is the copy that I used in that convention.

Q. Did you retain that copy in your possession until the time that you appeared before this Panel? A. I only retained this until after the convention, and I offered this to the Federal Bureau of Investigation as my report, with my report.

Q. Did you place any marks of identification on that copy prior to the time you turned it over to the FBI? A. I did, on the last page. I made a notation on there telling the agent "Wherever X appears in front of the name,



that member was not elected to the State Committee. 59 members on the State Committee."

8350 Q. Mr. Blanc, in order to clear the records will you check in document and read the names of the persons appearing on that list who were not elected to the State Committee? A. The first one was Fred Hall, whose correct name is Fred Haug. The next is Marie Rice, whose correct name is Marie Reed. Wendell Ringholtz. That is the correct name. Francis Murphy, Gene Stoll, Clara Furing, Anne Brown, Laverne Slagle, and Jerome Woodward are all correct names of people not elected to the State Committee.

Q. I notice that there appears to be an "X" in front of Max Wall's name. Was he elected to the State Committee? A. I don't remember at this time. There are  
8351 some down at the bottom of page 1; Tommy Miller and Tommy West were not elected to the State Committee.

Q. Mr. Blanc, you have mentioned that some of the names appearing on that document were not the correct names of individuals as they are listed on the document. Will you check the names and tell the Panel the correct names of the persons appearing on this list under Party names or aliases?

The Witness: Fred Hall is the actual Fred Haug. H. Larkin is H. Schneider.

8352 Mr. Abt: Who is that?

The Witness: H. Larkin.

Mr. LaFollette: Shop leader, AF of L.

The Witness: Above that, Joe Kelley is Joe Cress. Hy Lewis is Hy Lumer. Marie Rice is Marie Reed.

That is all.

By Mr. Story :

Q. Mr. Blanc, did you know these individuals whom you have just listed? A. I did.

Q. Personally, outside of party activities? A. I did.

Q. Did you know their names outside of the Communist Party activities? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Mr. Blanc, what happened to these nominating lists after the balloting had been taken at this convention? A. The nominating committee that handed these lists out had the correct number of lists that was given out. The Chairman asked that all of these nominating lists be returned at the end of the elections.

Q. Were all the nominating lists returned after the elections?

8353 The Witness: All but two of these lists were returned. The Chairman of the nominating committee, after counting them upon the return of these documents, pleaded with the delegates to return the other two.

By Mr. Story :

Q. Was a search conducted in an effort to find these two lists? A. A search was conducted.

Q. Did they find them? A. They did not.

Q. Did you know where either of these missing lists were?

The Witness: I did.

By Mr. Story :

Q. Where were they? A. The one list I had, which I turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation after the convention.

8355 Q. Mr. Blanc, how were Communist Party directives transmitted during the latter years, namely 1948 and 1949?

The Witness: They were picked up at the county office and taken over to either Betty Erhart's home or Roy Leib's.

8356 Mr. LaFollette: How do you know this?

The Witness: I used to go to the county office on Saturday mornings and pick up the Sunday Worker when I was press director, for delivery among the different clubs that I delivered to, and directives and messages in envelopes were given to me for Betty Erhart or Roy Leib, and I would deliver them to either party as I was directed to, to Roy Leib or Betty Erhart.

Q. Mr. Blanc, prior to the recess you testified that you were used as a courier for Communist Party directives between the County office and the section office. Did you ever receive any Communist Party directives by way of courier at any time? A. At my home on two occasions I received directives which Roy Leib brought to my home.

Q. Approximately when was that? A. That was in the spring of 1949.

Q. Prior to that time how did you receive similar directives or documents? A. Outside of picking them

8357 up and taking them to where they were supposed to go, like Betty Erhart's or Roy Leib's home, the directives weren't given to any chairman. They were read off either by Betty Erhart or Roy Leib at our Collinwood section meeting.

Q. How did you receive similar directives back in 1944?

The Witness: Either through mail or when I used to visit the office, mostly through the mail.

Q. Did you receive any directives by mail during the years 1948 and 1949? A. I did not.

Q. Mr. Blanc, at any time during your membership in the Communist Party were you called upon by any governmental agency to admit or deny your membership in the Communist Party?

The Witness: I was. Being a member of—

8358 Q. When and by what agency were you called upon to admit or deny your membership in the Communist Party? A. Being a member of the Executive Board of the Local Union, under the Taft-Hartley Act we were required to sign a non-Communist affidavit.

Q. Do you recall when? A. That was in February or March of 1948.

Q. Did you discuss this affidavit with any of the members of the Communist Party? A. I discussed this with both Gus Hall and Roy Leib.

Q. Did you receive any instructions as a result of this discussion?

The Witness: I was told to go ahead and sign the non-Communist affidavit as required by the Taft-Hartley law, and it wouldn't make any difference because all I would have to do to overcome being prosecuted was to submit my resignation in to the Communist Party prior to the time that the Taft-Hartley law took effect.

Q. Did you submit a letter of resignation? A. I didn't submit a letter. The letter was drawn up at the  
8359 county office of the Communist Party.

Q. Who, if you know, drew this letter up? A. Gus Hall.



Q. Did you sign it? A. I signed both the original and a duplicate. I gave them the original and maintained the duplicate myself.

Q. Mr. Blanc, I hand you a document which has been marked for identification Petitioner's Exhibit 350 and ask you if you can identify the document? A. I can.

Q. Is this the letter that you have just testified to, concerning your resignation from the Communist Party? A. This is a duplicate of the original that was drawn up at the County office, and they maintained the original and this is the duplicate.

Q. Did you keep this copy of the letter in your 8360 possession until you appeared before this Board?

A. I only kept this in my possession for a few days and then I turned this letter over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Q. Is that your signature on this letter? A. That is my signature.

Q. Petitioner's Exhibit for identification 350 is dated July 28, 1947. At what time did you sign this letter? A. It was in February of 1948.

Q. Were you told why this date, July 28, 1947, was placed on this letter?

The Witness: I was told by Gus Hall at the time I was in the county office in February 1948 that the letter would have to be pre-dated prior to the time that the Taft-Hartley went into effect so that if anything went wrong they would always produce evidence that I had tendered my resignation to the Communist Party prior to August 1, 1947, at which time the Taft-Hartley Act became effective.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Did you have a membership card in the Communist Party at the time you signed this letter? A. I did. I was told by Gus Hall to destroy it.

Q. Did you destroy it? A. I didn't destroy it. Roy  
8361 Leib destroyed it for me.

8415 Q. Mr. Blanc, did you attend any meetings of the  
Communist Party in Ohio where plans were dis-  
cussed for taking the Communist Party underground?

The Witness: I did, in May 1948.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Where was the meeting held? A. In Hy Lumer's  
home in Cleveland, Ohio.

8416 Q. What took place at this meeting? A. This was  
an emergency meeting at which all chairmen or any-  
body else in the clubs that held a job as secretary  
or chairman and top union level people that worked with  
the Communist Party met at the home of Hy Lumer for  
preparations for emergency raising a fund of \$50,000.  
This fund was to be raised among the different clubs in  
Cleveland, Ohio for the purpose of buying stencils, inks,  
papers, et cetera, for the Party to have on hand when it  
moved underground.

Q. Were any provisions made for transporting or stor-  
ing this equipment?

The Witness: There was. Joe Brandt presided at the  
meeting. When asked by different people at the meeting  
where the stuff was going to be taken to or who was going  
to pick it up he made reference that Dave Katz would pick  
it up in his truck and only Dave Katz would know where  
the stuff went to.

By Mr. Story:

Q. Were any statements made at this meeting as to  
"why the Party was planning" underground activity? A.  
Joe Brandt made a statement at this meeting clarifying

the reason for such a meeting, saying that we had to be prepared to move underground in case the Mundt  
8417 Bill passed and that we had to make preparations to be prepared to work from underground.

Q. Did Joe Brandt hold a position in the Communist Party at the time he attended this meeting and made these statements? A. Joe Brandt at that time was working at the top level Communist Party in Cuyahoga County with the local unions.

Q. How long did you know Joe Brandt in the Communist Party out in Ohio? A. About three years, up to the time I left the Party.

Q. Did you participate in collecting any money  
8418 for this fund and in organizing this meeting? A. A quota for my section was handed to Roy Leib and I who represented our section at that meeting, a quota of \$3500 to be raised among our club members and ourselves, and we were given a ten-day period in which to raise it.

Q. Did your section meet its quota? A. No, we did not. I think we fell short some three or four hundred dollars.

Q. What happened to this money after it was collected in your section? A. All the money was turned over to Roy Leib.

Q. What position did Leib have at that time? A. Leib at that time was the Chairman of the Collinwood section of the Communist Party.

Q. Was membership on important committees of the Communist Party changed at any time during your membership?

The Witness: It was.

8419 Q. Mr. Blanc, you have testified that you attended the state convention of the Communist Party of Ohio in 1948, is that correct? A. That is correct.

8420 Q. You have just testified that at this state convention, the state committee was reduced from a certain number, 50 or 60, I think, to a total of 11 members, is that correct? A. That is correct.

Q. Were any reasons stated by any of the members or delegates at this convention as to why the state committee was to be reduced? A. There was.

Q. What was that reason? Who made the statement and tell what was said. A. Gus Hall made the statement, that the reason that the state committee was reduced from its present membership to a total of 11, was that it would be a close-formed committee and it would be better to operate with a smaller committee, that if anybody got into trouble they would always have replacements for such a committee from the past members who had served on that state committee.

Q. When in 1948 was this convention held? A. In the summer of 1948.

Q. Mr. Blanc, was the subject of allegiance owed by members of the Communist Party discussed in any Communist Party school or Communist Party meeting which you attended?

8421 The Witness. There was.

Q. Mr. Blanc, were members of the Communist Party taught that they owed allegiance to the Government of the United States during your membership in the Communist Party?



8422 The Witness: The Communist Party members were always taught that they owed their allegiance to the democratic forces of the world, and that Russia was that democratic force.

Mr. Brown: Can you further identify the making of this statement as to the time, place and by whom made?

The Witness: At several meetings in the spring of 1948 at either Jack Lencl's home or Roy Leib's or Betty Erhart's, the statement was made by either Betty Erhart or Roy Leib.

Mr. Brown: In your presence?

The Witness: In my presence.

By Mr. Story:

8423 Q. Mr. Blanc, you have testified that you attended the Communist Party school at the West Side Hungarian Hall in June of 1948, is that correct? A. That is correct.

Q. Was the subject of allegiance mentioned at any time during the course of that school? A. There was.

Q. Will you tell the Panel what was said and who made the statement? A. Anthony Kirchmarek, who was an instructor at that school at the time, told the class that the United States was out to crush Russia and the progressive party. He said it was the duty of all Communists in the United States not to fight an unjust war, that Communists would recognize and fight a just war, but an unjust war, no. It was our duty to defeat their every purpose. We weren't to be brought into a third world war and we weren't going to be neutral as we were in the second world war. We would know when the time came for a third world war between the United States and Russia that we would be prepared to do what we could to hamper their every effort in crushing Russia.

Q. What were you taught, Mr. Blanc, as to the meaning of an unjust war, by the Communist Party? A. An

unjust war is a war that is fought among the money monopolies for the control of world interests, and an unjust war would be a war of Wall Street brokers and money  
8424 monopolies against Russia.

Q. What did Hall say at this rally in May of 1948?

8430 A. There again Hall stated that Napoleon tried to  
8431 win wars for the French kings and was defeated,  
that Hitler tried to win a war for the German trusts  
and cartels and he also was defeated. Now, he said, we are  
faced with the money monopolies and the Wall Street  
brokers trying to make war against Russia. He said, they  
will be defeated because the money monopolies of Wall  
Street know well that the Communist Party of the United  
States will not stand still and be neutral, that we would  
have a voice in it, that we would go out and hamper their  
every attempt in trying to crush Russia and trying to  
keep the United States of America from ruling the world.

8584 Redirect Examination

Q. Did you send this letter by mail to the Communist  
Party headquarters in Ohio? A. I did not.

Q. Will you explain the portion on the bottom of Govern-  
ment Exhibit 350 where you have stated that you wrote  
"Sent by mail 7/28-47"?

The Witness: That was put there on the advice of  
Gus Hall, who told me to make that notation in case some  
reference was made to it when I resigned from the Com-  
munist Party of Cleveland, Ohio. That was put there for  
the purpose of protection for myself. I resigned prior to  
August 1, upon the inception of the Taft-Hartley.  
8585 law, when it became effective.

**William Garfield Cummings** called as a witness for Petitioner, having been first duly sworn, was examined  
8603 and testified as follows:

Direct Examination

Q. What was the purpose of this meeting of the state committee?

The Witness: The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the National Board Resolution on dissolving the  
8617 Communist Political Association.

8619 Q. What was said about Earl Browder and his policies? A. Several of the delegates made statements that Mr. Earl Browder had deviated from the Marxist-Leninist line and that they appreciated very much this being called to their attention by Mr. Jacques Duclos, and the also—I want to think just a minute. I want to get this in there: After the meeting between Mr. Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Stalin, they said that the Party had completely deviated from the Marxist-Leninist line and it had generated into revisionism.

8629 Q. What was Roddie Lester's position in the Communist Party at the time you knew him? A. At the time I knew Mr. Lester he was press director of the Communist Party of Lucas County.

Q. What did Roddie Lester tell you about Party schools in Russia? A. In the course of a conversation with Roddie Lester he told me that he attended a Communist Party school in Russia.

Q. When did this conversation take place? A. This conversation took place in the latter part of 1945.

Q. Where? A. In Toledo, Ohio, the headquarters of the Communist Party at Lincoln House.

8637 Q. Did Lewis mention any people he had met at the Lenin Institute?

The Witness: He spoke of Mr. George Siskind. He said Mr. George Siskind attended the Institute at about the same time he did.

8644 Q. While you were a member of the Communist Party did you know of there being more than one type of member?

The Witness: I do. There was more than one type, open and concealed members.

By Mr. Nelson:

Q. In your position as a member of the State Committee did you of your own knowledge know any concealed members?

The Witness: I did.

By Mr. Nelson:

Q. Can you name any concealed members of the Party?

8646 A. Mr. Charlie Clark of 2746 Mulberry Street in Toledo, Ohio. He was a concealed member.

8647 Q. How do you know that?

The Witness: At a Communist Party state committee meeting in Cleveland in 1948 the local Communist Party of the City of Toledo was instructed by the State leadership to keep Mr. Charlie Clark's membership concealed in the



Communist Party. He was also a member of the Progressive Party.

Q. What contacts did you have with this Charlie Clark?  
A. One of the contacts was through his Communist Party membership. The second contact was in the industrial club of the Communist Party in the City of Toledo. He was also a trade union member.

Q. Were you present when Charlie Clark was given these instructions? A. I was. I was present in Cleveland and also in the City of Toledo.

8648 Q. Who gave him these instructions? A. Joe Sokol gave him the instructions in the City of Toledo.

Q. Do you know the name of any other person who operated as a concealed member of the Party? A. Ed Love operated as a concealed member of the Communist Party.

Q. How do you know that? A. I knew him to be a member of the Communist Party, and I know that he operated under the name of Edwin Lee in the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know the names of any other concealed members? A. Not in the City of Toledo. I can not recall the names of any other concealed members in the City of Toledo.

Q. Do you know other concealed members elsewhere?  
A. Only on the State Committee.

Q. I don't think you understand me. Do you know  
8649 of concealed members in the Party other than in the City of Toledo? A. In Cleveland and in Youngstown there were concealed members.

Q. Do you personally know of your own knowledge?  
A. Of my own knowledge I know.

Q. Who were the concealed members in Cleveland that you know? A. I know of Kermit M. Kirkendoll, who was on the State Committee.

Q. Going back to Charlie Clark, what function did he perform as a concealed member of the Party?

The Witness: He was on the State Committee. He functioned on the County Committee, the Committee of Lucas County.

Q. What private business was he in? How did he make his living? A. He was employed at the Dana Corporation of the Spicer Manufacturing Co. He was chief steward of that local unit, Local 12.

Q. You say he received his instructions to operate as a concealed member in 1948. What functions did he perform for the party operating as a concealed member?

8650 The Witness: He was vice chairman of the Progressive Party of Lucas County.

The Witness: He also ran for city councilman on the Progressive Party ticket in 1949.

By Mr. Nelson:

Q. How about this Edwin Lee or Edwin Love—that is the same person? A. The same person.

Q. What did he do for a living? A. He was employed at the Willys-Overland and his profession was school  
8651 teacher. For the duration of the war he was employed at the Willys-Overland Motors.

Q. What function did he perform for the Party as a concealed member? A. He wasn't too active in the Communist Party. His biggest function, he was on what they call the Social Committee, a committee to arrange social functions for the Communist Party. He was on the Social Committee. He was chairman of the Social Committee in 1946.

Q. This other man you mentioned was Kermit Kirkendoll. A. Kermit M. Kirkendoll.

Q. What was his means of livelihood? A. He was in the State Senate, the State of Ohio.

Q. What function did he perform for the Party? A. I believe he came from the trade union movement, and then he went to the Senate. That was his function.

Q. What position did he hold in the Party? A. He was on the State Committee of the Communist Party, the State of Ohio.

Q. Mr. Cummings, while you were a member of the Communist Party and a member of the State Committee of Ohio, did you ever have any discussions with other party members or state committee members concerning Party members testifying in courts or before legislative bodies?

A. I did.

8652 Q. Where and when did you have such a discussion?

8654 The Witness: Mr. Joe Sokol instructed me personally, he also instructed the members of the County

8655 Committee of the Communist Party of Lucas County that at no time they should admit that they were a member of the Communist Party if they were asked by any law enforcement officers, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, police force, and not even the trade union leaders should know it if they were asked. That was after the security period in 1947 in Cleveland, Ohio at the home of an attorney by the name of Sam. In East Cleveland, Ohio, at a Communist Party state committee meeting, special State Committee meeting, Mr. Gus Hall also gave these very same instructions.

By Mr. Nelson:

Q. Mr. Cummings, were you yourself personally given such instructions? A. I was personally given these instructions by the local Communist Party of Lucas County and also the state leadership gave me these instructions.

Q. Who else was present when Joe Sokol made that statement to you? A. Mrs. Regina Sokol, Max Wall and Flo Wall was present.

Q. On the occasion when Guss Hall gave those instructions? A. Miss Betty Riley was present; Frank Hasmall was present; Joe Sokol was present; and there were a number of others. I just can't recall them offhand.

Q. Were they all Party members? A. All Party members because this was a concealed meeting, one of 8656 the concealed meetings. It was a state committee meeting.

Q. Mr. Cummings, were you ever asked by any legislative body or a court or any person if you were a member of the Communist Party?

The Witness: I was.

Q. On what occasion, when and where? What was the occasion? A. I was asked in 1947 by Mr. John Begg, the Chairman of the Electric Autolite unit if I was a Communist. He didn't ask me if I was a member of the Communist Party. He asked me if I was a Communist.

Q. What answer did you give him? A. I gave him a truthful answer. I told him no, I wasn't, that I wasn't a Communist.

8657 Q. At the time Mr. Begg asked you this question, were you a member of the Communist Party? A. I was.

Q. How do you reconcile the statement that you were a member of the Communist Party with the fact that you answered Mr. Begg that you were not a Communist? A. Because I absolutely didn't believe in the teachings of the Communist organization.

8658 Q. Mr. Cummings, during your membership in the Communist Party from 1943 to 1949, did you have anything to do with Communist Party records? A. I did.



Q. Were you acquainted with the way the Party maintained its records? A. I was.

Q. Will you describe these various records that as a Communist you knew about? A. They had what was known as the membership list. They had the Daily Worker list, the Daily and Sunday Worker list. They also had what was known as the regular mailing list.

Q. Were all these records kept in the same manner? A. They were not kept in the same manner, not exactly the same manner. They were kept separately. There were different records. The regular mailing list was a list to which they mailed weekly or monthly certain Communist Party literature, trade union throw-aways, et cetera, the regular mailing list. The membership list was simply a list of the Communist Party members. The Daily and Sunday Worker list was the list of the people who read the Daily and the Sunday Worker.

8659 Q. Where were the various records kept and how were they kept? A. Up until the security period the record was kept in the Communist Party headquarters, but after the security period then they began hiding these records in different places.

Q. What did you mean by the Security period, Mr. Cummings? A. Until up until 1947-48 the records were kept in the Communist Party headquarters, but after the Party began making preparations to go underground they referred to it as the security period.

The Witness: It was referred to as a security period. That started in 1947 and 1948.

By Mr. Nelson:

8660 Q. Will you describe the manner of keeping records before the security period and after the security period? A. I think I partially described the method of keeping records before the security period. The records

were kept in the office. They had cards, the names were put on cards, and they were put in a file. That is the way the records were kept. But after the security period then they didn't keep records in the same way as they did before. The regular mailing list was blown into quite a large list with a number of prominent Toledo people included who didn't belong to the Communist Party, that they didn't mail out the literature to, but they were included in this list.

Q. How do you know? A. Because I had access to the list, and I knew the members of the Communist Party and I knew also people who were on this list—I didn't know the people who were on this list, but I knew there were people on this list, prominent people in Toledo, who were on this list. I also participated in the discussions when this was included.

Q. Did you discuss the inclusion of these people in this list with other party leaders? A. Yes, we did.

Q. What was the nature of that discussion? A. The nature of that discussion was that it had been handed down from the National Committee that they should take all measures of security to protect the Communist Party members, and it was agreed locally, the local executive board, that that was the method, that they would devise that method of blowing up this membership list to conceal the membership.

8662 Q. Mr. Cummings, were these names of non-Party persons included in this list fictitious names? A. A few were fictitious names, but the most of them were correct names.

Q. Correct addresses? A. There weren't any addresses at all.

Q. Why were you Communist Party members padding this list? A. We were padding it to conceal the identity of the members, the actual Communist Party members. It was a security measure.

Q. After the security period were the records maintained in the office? A. They were not.

Q. Do you know what was done with some of 8663 these records? A. Some of the records were kept in the home, the business place of Sam Boris. This was near the corner—It was on Superior Street near the corner of Jackson Street in Toledo, Ohio. It was a photographer's shop.

Q. Sam Boris was a Party member? A. He was a Party member.

Q. Did the Party have an office at the time these records were kept in Sam Boris' place? A. They did, at 501-1/2 Monroe Street.

Q. Do you know of any other places that the Party records were maintained after the security period? A. At the home of Max Wall, 147 Maumee Avenue.

Q. During what period were these records kept at the home of Max Wall? A. This was also during the security period.

Q. Was there any other place the Party maintained records? A. Well, I had them at my mother's place at one time, at my mother's home. That was 1201 Ironwood Avenue.

Q. You are speaking of records generally. Just what records were these that were kept at these various places other than the office of the Party? A. There was the mailing list, the regular mailing list, the Daily and Sunday Worker list. Those are the ones.

8664 Q. Mr. Cummings, do you know a person by the name of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn? A. I do. I know her.

Q. Where and when did you meet her? A. I met her on three different occasions. I met her at a meeting at Kappps Hall in the City of Toledo, where she spoke, I also met her in the summer of 1947 at the home of Charlie Clark, 2746 Mulberry Street.

Q. What was the occasion for your meeting there at the home of Charlie Clark? A. There was a special meeting that was called on security.

Q. Did you know what position Elizabeth Gurley Flynn held in the Communist Party? A. At that time Miss Flynn was national chairman of the Women's Division of the Communist Party.

Q. Was this meeting at which you met her a regular meeting of the Party in Toledo? A. No, it was not. This was a special meeting. It was a called meeting, an emergency meeting, on security.

Q. Did Miss Flynn address this group on that occasion?

A. She did. She addressed the group.

8665 Q. What was the substance of her conversation or her address? A. Emphasizing security. This was in 1947 and she said we should stop using the telephone to call Communist Party members. We should not use the mail for mailing literature to Communist Party members. She said we should not carry lists of the Communist Party members around on our person or billfolds, our person, and et cetera.

Q. Did she make any mention of the official Party records? A. She said the official Party records should be destroyed.

Q. Did she make any specific mention of membership lists? A. She said they should be also destroyed.

Q. During her speech, which you say was on the subject of Party security, did she say anything about using party names?

The Witness: She said we should use false, fictitious Party names, not your correct name, an incorrect name, for concealed members.



By Mr. Nelson:

Q. Was anything said as to why the meeting was called and why a member of the National Committee would address this meeting? A. I don't recall just why 8666 this security measure was being taken, but there was something happening, whether it was a real scare thrown into the organization, and she was assigned to one section of the country to warn the Communist organizations in the different localities to begin going underground.

Q. After this meeting that Miss Flynn addressed were there any subsequent meetings of Party officials in Ohio, in the county or in the state, concerned with the same subject, security? A. In the county and state. There was a county meeting held immediately of the county executive board and then a county committee. It was a question of their both being held the same night. The county executive board met and then the county committee went into session right after that.

Q. You attended that? A. Yes.

Q. As a member of the county committee? A. As a member of the County committee and also of the executive committee.

Q. Can you fix the date when Miss Flynn addressed this first meeting you spoke of? A. It would have been July of 1947, about July of 1947.

Q. You mentioned that a state meeting was held thereafter. Can you tell us where and when the state 8667 committee meeting was held? A. I mentioned this meeting before in an answer. This meeting was held also in July 1947 in Cleveland, Ohio, at the home of an attorney by the name of Sam.

Q. Who was present at this meeting? A. Arnold Johnson, Gus Hall, Miss Betty Riley, Frank Hashmall, Joe Sokol, Admiral Kilpatrick, myself.

Q. Who was the main speaker, if there was a main speaker? A. There were two main speakers. Mr. Arnold Johnson was one of the main speakers, and Mr. Gus Hall was one of the main speakers.

Q. What did Gus Hall have to say in his remarks to the state committee meeting? A. In regard to the security he was critical of the members of the state committee for attending the meeting, breaking the rules that had been handed down by the National Committee for the state committee as far as attending meetings was concerned. We were not to attend this meeting in groups—we were only to attend in groups of two. We were to take the street car and not use cars at all. If four people arrived at this meeting simultaneously, two were to walk past the meeting place, two go in, two walk past the meeting place and come back and go in later, unless they met with someone simultaneously two more, and then the last two would keep going and those two would go in. That 8668 is the way the meeting was arranged.

Q. Did Gus Hall say anything about Party records, subscription lists for the Daily Worker, membership lists, and that sort of thing? A. He did, but I would like to finish this other question first. There is something I would like to add to it. That is that—May I please, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Brown: Surely.

The Witness: That this method was handed down, orders were handed down from the National Committee, which were not kept at this meeting. People drove cars to the meeting. They congregated going into the meeting, et cetera. They didn't keep the orders that were given. Now your next question again.

By Mr. Nelson:

Q. To carry on what you mentioned there, did Gus Hall speak of this violation? A. He spoke of the violation. He was critical of the state committee for not following the orders that were handed down by the National Committee. He said he was going to take this up with the National Committee, and he was going to recommend expulsion for the members of the State Committee that had broken this rule.